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NORTH Vietnam

Up to January 19, 1968

2,727 U.S. planes were downed

VIETNAM COURIER

Information Weekly — 5th Year — No 147 — January 22, 1968
E.O. : 46 Tran Hung Dao Street, Hanoi — Democratic Republic of Viet Nam

SOUTH Vietnam

January 6-13, 1968:

- ⊙ **Three Towns, Many Townlets, Airfields and C.P.'s Attacked by the P.L.A.F.**
- ⊙ **3 Battalions, 7 Companies and over 1,300 G.I.'s and Puppet Troops Put out of Action.**

SECOND SESSION OF INTERNATIONAL WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL

INVALUABLE SUPPORT AND ENCOURAGEMENT

A meeting was jointly held in Hanoi on January 11 by the Viet Nam Fatherland Front Central Committee, the Viet Nam Lawyers' Association and the Hanoi Committee of the Viet Nam Fatherland Front to acclaim the success of the second session of the International War Crimes Tribunal held in Copenhagen, capital of Denmark, from November 20 to December 1, 1967.

Present were representatives of various mass organizations, religious communities, nationalities and all strata of the people affiliated to the Viet Nam Fatherland Front and the Hanoi Committee of the Front.

After the opening speech by Dr Nguyen Van Huong, member of the Presidium of the Viet Nam Fatherland Front C.C., Mr. Pham Van Bach delivered a report on the results of the said session and the work of the D.R.V.N. delegation at the Tribunal.

The participants in the meeting passed a letter to various organizations and individuals having contributed to the success of the second session of the International War Crimes Tribunal.

The letter reads in full as follows :

"WE representatives of various nationalities, political parties, mass organizations, religious communities and all strata of the people affiliated to the Viet Nam Fatherland Front and the Hanoi Committee of the Front, at a meeting held in Hanoi on Jan. 11, 1968, warmly acclaim the success of the second session in Copenhagen (Denmark) of the International War Crimes Tribunal initiated by Lord Bertrand Russell.

After hearing the report by the D.R.V.N. delegation to the Tribunal's session, we are greatly elated to learn that like the first session, the second session of the Tribunal ended in success. At both sessions, the first in Stockholm (Sweden) and the second in Copenhagen (Denmark), the Tribunal comprehensively and carefully considered and severely condemned U.S. crimes in its war of aggression in Viet Nam. At the same time, the Tribunal strongly indicted the acts of aggression committed by the U.S. against Cambodia and Laos, and found the rulers of Japan, Thailand, South Korea, Australia, New Zealand and the Philippines guilty of complicity with the U.S. in its aggression against Viet Nam. The juridically and politically valuable conclusions of the Tribunal have thrown a strong light on a fundamental truth in the Viet Nam war: the U.S. government, by deciding to achieve neo-colonialism, is waging an extremely brutal war of aggression in Viet Nam, and is committing the crime of aggression against the fundamental national rights of the Vietnamese people, extremely barbarous war crimes, crime against peace and crime against humanity. After having made a careful de jure *and* de facto *study, the Tribunal has unanimously concluded that the U.S. government has committed genocide against the Vietnamese people.*

The results of the International Tribunal's two sessions constitute a victory for justice and righteousness. They prove that broad public opinion and the conscience of progressive mankind are on the side of the Vietnamese people. This success of the Tribunal is inseparable from the noble work of Lord Bertrand Russell, the initiator of the Tribunal who, for the sake of a great cause, has unceasingly appealed to the conscience of progressive mankind to support the Vietnamese people against the barbarous U.S. aggressors. It is inseparable from the tremendous efforts of the presidents, the members and all the personnel of the Tribunal, of various investigation teams sent by the Tribunal to Viet Nam or the U.S. witnesses coming from various countries to denounce U.S. crimes before the Tribunal, committees of struggle against U.S. war crimes in Viet Nam of Japan, Cuba and Korea, Support-the-Tribunal committees and progressive organizations in Sweden and Denmark which actively helped ensure the smooth functioning of the Tribunal's sessions.

The Vietnamese people regard the work and results of the Tribunal as an invaluable support and encouragement to their just fight against U.S. imperialist aggression for the independence and freedom of the Fatherland and for world peace.

We sincerely thank Lord Bertrand Russell, Honorary President of the Tribunal, the presidents, members and collaborators of the Tribunal, the organizations and friends in various countries for having directly or indirectly taken part in the work of the Tribunal.

We sincerely thank the people of Sweden and Denmark for having demonstrated their militant solidarity with

(Continued page 2)

Crimes against a people, crimes against all

THE Americans have poured on Viet Nam — North and South — more bombs than on Europe during World War II, sprayed toxic chemicals on vast regions of South Viet Nam, blown poison gas into shelters where civilians have taken refuge. One needs only to cast a glance on American magazines to see pictures and stories of "Viet Cong" prisoners being towed behind tanks, tortured, disemboweled, thrown out of flying helicopters. The world press is full of articles in which journalists of various opinions give detailed description of Vietnamese towns and villages — in both North and South — being razed, burnt down by American bombs, shells and bulldozers. Any visitor to South Viet Nam can see with his own eyes " strategic hamlets " and " New Life hamlets " where part of the population are penned up, like animals, behind barbed wire.

The U.N.O. remains silent. The International Red Cross keeps mum. Many religious authorities, who claim to defend human values, say nothing. Ears among the sharpest, eyes among the keenest, tongues and pens among the most eloquent, seem paralyzed, when those crimes are evoked. For many governments and international organizations are bound to the rich and powerful U.S.A. by subsidies, pacts, ideological solidarity, either tacit or clearly expressed. For many people of culture, good faith, good will, are also tied by dollars, complaisance, complicity, more or less founded convictions. For the colossal, cleverly-run American propaganda machine has built up everywhere, in the U.S.A. and the world, the image of a generous America, bastion of freedom and human rights. Napalm bombs, phosphorus bombs on civilians? chemical weapons, tortures? Pshaw! Hitler could have done that, but certainly not Americans, Lincoln's heirs!

And yet truth has gradually emerged. Feeling runs high in ever broader sections of world opinion. For the Vietnamese people is not the only one to be concerned about U.S. war crimes. Those who give the matter even a little thought realize that the whole of mankind is concerned, that like Guernica, the burning of Vietnamese towns and villages threatens—if things are let to run their course—to be the prelude to worldwide holocaust.

For those are not inevitable atrocities, common to all wars or exceptional ferocities shown by some individuals.

Those are crimes of great scope, inherent in U.S. world policy, in the very nature of U.S. imperialism, whose ambitions and capabilities far outstrip those of the Third Reich.

U.S. imperialism has given the Vietnamese people to understand that they will be exterminated if they don't resign themselves to slavery. To the other peoples of Asia, Africa, Latin America — and for a more distant future to all peoples — it has unequivocally given to understand that Viet Nam is but a testing-ground, and that the only choice for all is either to submit or be destroyed by B.52s, napalm, steel-pellet bombs and other weapons.

To those crimes, to those threats, to that blackmail, the answer must be clear and their condemnation unequivocal. The veil of silence and indifference must be torn,

(Continued page 8)

THE GLORIOUS BANNER OF THE LAO PEOPLE

IN only a few years, after their victorious war of resistance against the French colonialists, the Lao people have been winning splendid victories never known before in Laos' history. In their valiant and persistent struggle, the Lao people have been foiling all aggressive schemes of the U.S., the most cruel chieftain of imperialism.

The U. S. imperialists schemed to replace the French colonialists and turn Laos into a new-type colony and an aggressive military base of the U.S., but the U.S. itself had to sign the Geneva Agreements of 1962 and pledge itself to respect the sovereignty, independence, neutrality, unity and territorial integrity of Laos. It schemed to use the "special war" tactics, through the U.S.-commanded puppet army, to destroy the patriotic forces and abolish all bases of the Lao revolution.

Instead the longer the Lao people fight, the stronger they are and they are now in control of a vast liberated zone covering two-thirds of Laos' territory with one-third of its population.

Over recent years, together with pressing the puppet army to increase nibbling operations, the U.S. imperialists have been using their air force to launch fierce attacks on the Lao liberated areas, but the "superiority of the U.S. air force" can in no way intimidate the Lao people. In their fight against the U.S. and its stooges, the armed forces and people of Laos have recorded brilliant feats of arms: wiping out more than 80,000 enemy troops, capturing thousands of tons of arms, munitions and other military equipment and bringing down more than 700 U.S. aircraft. The liberated zone has been consolidated with every passing day and recorded brilliant achievements in all fields, political, economic and cultural.

The victories registered by the Lao people during the past ten years cannot be dissociated from the clear-sighted leadership of the *Neo Lao Haksat* headed by Prince Souphanouvong. Inheriting the cause of the *Neo Lao Issala* (Free Laos Front) which led the Lao people in their victorious fight against the French colonialists, the *Neo Lao Haksat* (Patriotic Front of Laos), founded on January 6, 1956 assumed heavy but very glorious tasks: upholding the patriotic banner against U.S. imperialism and carrying through the national democratic revolution in Laos. The great victory of the Lao revolution is the victory of the correct political line of the *Neo Lao Haksat*, which consist in uniting the entire people in a broad national front, carrying out armed struggle against U.S. imperialism and for national salvation with a view to building a peaceful, neutral, democratic, united and prosperous Laos. The big victory of the Lao revolution means the victory of the *Neo Lao Haksat*'s using of revolutionary violence to defeat counter-revolutionary violence, building and expanding the revolutionary armed forces, and bringing into full play the invincible strength of people's war.

The Lao people though only three million strong, yet closely united, struggling resolutely and persistently along a correct political line, and enjoying vigorous international support, have thwarted step by step the U.S. imperialists' aggressive scheme, founded the revolutionary power on a large part of the country. They are fighting successfully to defend and develop the revolutionary gains. The experience of the struggle and the victory of the Lao people under the *Neo Lao Haksat*'s leadership constitute an important contribution to the national liberation movement as a whole.

In the political life in Laos, the legal position and important role of the *Neo Lao Haksat* are recognized by both the 1961-1962 tripartite agreements and the 1962 Geneva Agreements on Laos. Its prestige has been daily rising at home and abroad.

Motivated by their ambitious long-term strategy in Indo-China, South-East Asia and the Western Pacific, the U.S. imperialists do not yet reconcile themselves to failure and give up their aggressive design against Laos. In the immediate future, they will intensify their aggressive war in Viet Nam and scheme to widen the war in Laos. The Lao people's fight against U.S. aggression, for national salvation is going on with grimness and harshness. But the more the U.S. imperialists step up their policy of war and aggression against Laos, the more they reveal their fundamental weaknesses.

The fact that the U.S. air force is directly taking part in the aggressive war in Laos, committing barbarous crimes against the people of this country, has laid bare the aggressive and bellicose nature of the U.S. The Lao people are deeply angered and resolved to fight against the U.S. imperialists who have brazenly trampled upon their independence, sovereignty, neutrality and territorial integrity, grossly wrecked the 1962 Geneva Agreements on Laos and are the most dangerous enemy of this country.

The puppet administration and army, a prop for the U.S. to carry out its "special war" in Laos, are proving more and more powerless and torn by inner contradictions. Now that the U.S. imperialists are meeting with humiliating defeats in Viet Nam, the plan to bring U.S. troops to Laos is merely a reckless calculation.

At an enlarged meeting of the Central Committee of the *Neo Lao Haksat* in December 1967, Prince Souphanouvong highlighted the great victories of the Lao people and pointed out that the national front against U.S. imperialism, the core of which is the alliance between the *Neo Lao Haksat* and the patriotic neutralist forces, was broadening and consolidating with every passing day. The Lao armed forces are growing rapidly both in number and efficiency. The Lao people believe more firmly than ever in the final victory of their fight against U.S. aggression, for national salvation. The victories obtained by the Lao people and armed forces in the first two months of this dry season show their determination to translate into deeds the call of the *Neo Lao Haksat* to frustrate the schemes of encroachment and new military ventures of the U.S. aggressors and their henchmen and defeat them, no matter to what extent they may recklessly widen the war.

The great victories recorded by the Lao people under the leadership of the *Neo Lao Haksat* have made an important contribution to the struggle of the Indo-Chinese peoples against their common enemy — U. S. imperialism — and strongly stimulated other peoples now struggling for independence and freedom.

The Lao people's fight against U.S. aggression, for national salvation, constitutes a direct, great and valuable support for the Vietnamese people. The Vietnamese people fully support the just stand of the *Neo Lao Haksat* and the Lao people and resolutely demand that the U.S. imperialists stop all acts of war and aggression against Laos, strictly implement the 1962 Geneva Agreements on Laos and let the Lao people settle themselves their internal affairs. As was pointed out in a message sent on January 5 by Ton Duc Thang, President of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Fatherland Front, to Prince Souphanouvong, Chairman of the Central Committee of the *Neo Lao Haksat*, "The Vietnamese and Lao peoples are close comrades-in-arms sharing weal and woe. Now that the U.S. imperialists are intensifying their aggressive war in Viet Nam and in Laos, the destinies of our two peoples are bound all the more intimately. We are resolved to stand shoulder to shoulder to defeat the U.S. aggressors completely."

THROUGH THE WESTERN PRESS

WHO HOLDS THE INITIATIVE ON THE SOUTH VIET NAM BATTLEFIELDS ?

OFFENSIVE

(François Pelou—
AFP, Jan. 10 1968)

"THE two-month old Winter-Spring campaign launched by the Vietcong in Nov. has developed unexpectedly into a generalised campaign of a violence unseen over the past two and a half years.

"In many parts of the country where the Americans last year launched offensive campaigns they now find themselves on the defensive in the face of determined Vietcong pressure.

"The Vietcong opened their campaign with two violent offensives considered at the time as mainly psychological.

"The first was the spectacular six-day battle of Loc Ninh 75 miles (120km) north of here. It was closely followed by the murderous battle of Dakto in the Central Highlands.

"The American command described the two battles as isolated and pointed out that they took place close to the Cambodian and Laotian borders, that was to say close to Vietcong refuges.

"But two months later the campaign had spread far from these sanctuaries to the coastal plains and to the area immediately surrounding the capital itself where the heaviest concentrations of American and South Vietnamese troops are located.

"This latter area alone contains the equivalent of four of the nine American combat divisions stationed in South Viet Nam, as well as three South Vietnamese divisions.

"Two of the most daring attacks in the area were made earlier this week, one close to the big American base at Bien Hoa and the other within range of the guns of Cu Chi base.

"The Vietcong occupied Khiem Cuong, the administrative capital of Hau Nghia province, less than 20 miles (30km) from Saigon.

"They also inflicted the war's heaviest bombardment on any single target on a South Vietnamese command post only ten minutes' helicopter flight from the Tan Son Nhut air base in the Saigon suburbs.

"... In the five northern provinces immediately south of the demilitarised zone the American attitude is also defensive rather than offensive..."

THE INITIATIVE RESTS WITH THE ENEMY

(Peter Arnett—*AP*, Jan. 10)

"THE communist offensive has strained allied forces to a degree that cuts down their room for manoeuvre.

"Intelligence officers expect the communist offensive to keep unwinding. They say many enemy units have still not been committed to battle and that the initiative rests with the enemy."

INTERVIEW GIVEN BY D.R.V.N. REPRESENTATIVE IN FRANCE

(*From* VNA *correspondent in Paris*)

AN important interview was granted on January 16 to *AFP* by Mai Van Bo, Delegate General of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam in France, according to the *VNA* correspondent in Paris.

Mai Van Bo condemned the U.S. rulers' obstinacy in continuing their war "escalation" against the D.R.V.N. while speaking of a halt, with conditions, of the U.S. bombings in line with the San Antonio allegations of the U.S. President.

Asked to specify what is new in the statement made on December 29, 1967 by D.R.V.N. Foreign Minister Nguyen Duy Trinh, Mai Van Bo recalled first of all the Foreign Minister's words in his December 29 statement as follows:

"The stand of the Vietnamese people is very clear. It is the 4 points of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the Political Programme of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation. It is the basis for any solution to the Viet Nam problem.

"The U.S. government has unceasingly repeated that it wants to talk with Hanoi but Hanoi has not reacted by any sign. If the U.S. government really wants talks, it must first of all, as was made clear in our statement of January 28, 1967, stop unconditionally the bombing and all other acts of war against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. After the unconditional cessation of the U.S. bombing and all other acts of war against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam will hold talks with the United States on relevant questions."

Thus made clear, the position of the D.R.V.N. government expounded in Nguyen Duy Trinh's statement of January 28, 1967 has enjoyed and continues to enjoy widespread approval and powerful support throughout the world, Mai Van Bo pointed out.

To the question "How much time will there be between the end of the bombing and the opening of negotiations?", Mai Van Bo replied: "The talks will begin after an appropriate time following the unconditional cessation of the bombing and all other acts of war against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam."

Concerning the level of eventual talks and the question to be discussed during these talks, Mai Van Bo made clear that "after the unconditional cessation of the bombing and all other acts of war against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, the two parties will meet to reach agreement on such questions."

TO THE READER

We are aware that there is much room for improvement in the wording of our paper. We apologize for this shortcoming and highly appreciate all your suggestions as they will help us to serve you more efficiently in future.

INTERNATIONAL WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL

TRIUMPH OF JUSTICE AND RIGHTEOUSNESS

(Excerpts from the report given at the Jan. 11, 1968 meeting in Hanoi by Mr. Pham Van Bach, Deputy Head of the D.R.V.N. Delegation to the session of the Bertrand Russell War Crimes Tribunal held in Copenhagen)

...AFTER more than 10 days hearing reports and addresses by over 50 delegates on the questions under consideration, the Tribunal assigned to Prof. Lelio Basso, an Italian lawyer and sociologist, and member of the Tribunal, the task of summing up the discussions and drafting the Tribunal's conclusions.

After analyzing the political and moral elements and the juridical bases which guaranteed the legality of the Tribunal on the basis of facts produced by the delegates and witnesses and documents and samples of evidence submitted to the Tribunal, Prof. L. Basso proposed that the Tribunal condemn the U.S. imperialists' crimes in their continued bombing escalation against civilian targets in North Viet Nam and in their universal use in Viet Nam of weapons banned by international law such as steel-pellet, napalm and phosphorous bombs, toxic chemicals, lethal gases etc... to kill people en masse, destroy crops and deprive the Vietnamese people of their means of living. He strongly denounced the American force for having resorted to an extremely brutal regime of terror and repression, and manhandled, tortured and murdered South Vietnamese combatants and civilians detained by them with most naked means. The U.S. aggressors have raided and razed to the ground series of villages and hamlets, indiscriminately killed old folks and children, exterminated the population of whole regions in South Viet Nam, impounded people in concentration camps where internees live in horrible moral and material conditions, and put tens of thousands of people to a slow death in various jails and detention camps in South Viet Nam. Prof. Basso concluded by saying, "It is clear that in the eyes of international law, the U.S. imperialists have committed the crime of genocide in their effort to impose their neo-colonialist rule on the Vietnamese people."

The Italian professor devoted an important part of his report to the expansionist policy constantly pursued by the U.S. imperialists for more than 150 years now, condemn U.S. rulers' scheme for world domination and global strategy and analyze in detail the neo-colonialist character of the U.S. war of aggression in Viet Nam. He also condemned U.S. acts of aggression and crimes against the peoples of Laos and Cambodia and produced proofs showing that the rulers of Japan, Thailand, the Philippines, South Korea, Australia and New Zealand were guilty of complicity in the U.S. war of aggression against Viet Nam.

Finally, Prof. Basso stressed, "In spite of their formidable war means, fire-power and techniques, the U.S. imperialists have been going from one defeat to another because the South Viet Nam N.F.L. and the Government of the D. R. V. N. enjoy powerful popular support. Not only the Tribunal's witnesses, specially the West German doctor Erich Wulff, but the American press has also confirmed this fact. The trend of the war cannot be explained otherwise."

The summing-up by Prof. L. Basso was highly valued by the Tribunal and regarded as an important document which could serve as a basis for the drawing of conclusions on the crimes committed by the U.S. imperialists and their satellites in the war of aggression against Viet Nam.

On Dec. 1, 1967, after hearing various reports and statements interrogating witnesses and seeing photographs, films and samples of evidence on display, the members of the Tribunal held thorough discussions and arrived at these unanimous conclusions:

— The U.S. armed forces are using and testing in Viet Nam various weapons banned by war law, subjecting P.O.W.'s to a regime of treatment banned by war law and giving civilians inhuman treatment banned by international law; the U.S. Government is guilty of genocide against the Vietnamese people.

The Tribunal unanimously concluded that the U.S. Government was guilty of aggression against the Lao people, of violating the 1954 and 1962 Geneva Agreements on Laos and re-kindling war on Lao territory.

Regarding Cambodia, the Tribunal had at its Stockholm session, concluded that the U.S. and its lackeys had committed acts of aggression against that country. It now emphasized that the situation there posed an increasingly serious threat to the Kingdom of Cambodia.

The Tribunal also declared the governments of Japan, Thailand and the Philippines guilty of complicity with the U.S. government in the aggression against Viet Nam.

Prior to the publication of the Tribunal's conclusions, Jean Paul Sartre, President of the Tribunal, read out a long statement on U.S. crime of genocide in Viet Nam. The statement condemns the offences of the imperialists in their colonialist wars of aggression and makes a penetrating analysis of the U.S. acts of genocide which are closely linked with the aggressive objectives of its neo-colonialist war in Viet Nam; it condemns the policy of aggression of U.S. rulers and their use of brutal and ruthless methods designed to wipe out a part of the Vietnamese people so as to force the remainder to accept their domination. In perpetrating acts of genocide in Viet Nam, U.S. ruling circles also want to intimidate other peoples in the world, forcing them to accept their dictate. The statement asserts that "The U.S. government has been found guilty of a policy of aggression and war in an attempt to exterminate a whole nation..., of pursuing and stepping up the war..., of deliberately conducting this experimental war and resorting to acts of genocide to challenge and threaten all nations."

The statement praises the Vietnamese people for having fought for the whole of mankind, condemns the U.S. aggressor troops for having struck at everybody, and stresses, "Anyone who fails to condemn the U.S. imperialists' crimes will become accomplice of the criminals, and in this way he begins to lower his own dignity."

Stokely Carmichael, a leader of Black people in the U.S., member of the Tribunal, made a separate statement, expressing his full agreement to the Tribunal's conclusions. He denounced U.S. rulers for sending Black youth to their deaths in the aggressive war in Viet Nam and declared emphatically that "the U.S. government committed a double act of genocide: murder of the Vietnamese people and murder of Black people in the U.S."

The Tribunal heard a message from scientist Bertrand Russell, its Honorary President, who stressed the obligation of all men of conscience in the world to support Viet Nam in her resistance to the U.S. He made it clear that "silence is complicity, a crime." "We should," he said, "raise our voice in condemnation, arouse everybody's conscience, mobilise every people, create an international resistance to the U.S. of aggression and to redouble our efforts to end U.S. barbarism in Viet Nam."

On behalf of the Tribunal, Dave Dellinger, an American member on the Tribunal, read out an appeal to the world and American people for a united action and a step-up of the struggle against the war of aggression and crimes of genocide committed by U.S. rulers in Viet Nam.

A nine-man Executive Committee was appointed, including the three former presidents of the Tribunal, to closely follow developments in Viet Nam. When necessary, it would summon the International Tribunal to judge new crimes of the U.S. imperialists and their accomplices. It has also the task of popularizing and publicizing the Tribunal's documents in the world and especially in the U.S.

The historic session of the International War Crimes Tribunal held in the Danish capital has ended in success. At a moment when the U.S. imperialists infuriated by their bitter defeats are feverishly escalating their war of aggression and intensifying their massacre and destruction, the above-mentioned conclusions of the Tribunal constitute a stern warning to Washington's bloodthirsty rulers. They are words spoken by human conscience and by the awakening conscience of Americans who are opposed to the dirty war and the loathsome crimes of U.S. rulers in Viet Nam. Before law and public opinion, the aggressive, bellicose, brutal and savage nature of U.S. imperialism has been fully exposed and its crimes against the Vietnamese and mankind as a whole brought to light. This amply proves that U.S. rulers have disregarded the most elementary norms of international law and trampled upon all human ethics in their unjust aggressive war in Viet Nam. The hypocritical professions of "peace" of Johnson and company have been flatly rejected and they are isolated, hated and cursed by the whole progressive mankind.

On the other hand, the full support given by the Tribunal to the just struggle of the Vietnamese people in both zones against the U.S. war of aggression and crimes of genocide reflects the profound feelings of the world's peoples, of various nationalities, political leanings and social strata who are well aware of the great sacrifices made by the Vietnamese people and admire their valiant Resistance War against the U.S. imperialist aggressors, the biggest war criminals of our time.

The sound conclusions and the work of the Tribunal will have a deep and extensive echo in the world, including the U.S., awaken and mobilize people of various countries, especially the American people, to stand up and wage an even more powerful and resolute struggle so as to stay the bloody hands of the top men in the White House and the Pentagon.

For the Vietnamese people, they are a great encouragement which will give them added strength in their grim fight against U.S. aggression to save the country, liberate the South, defend the North and achieve eventual national reunification. The factors leading to the success of the recent session of the International War Crimes Tribunal were numerous, but the first and foremost was the Vietnamese people's growing successes in their just resistance. The monstrous crimes committed by the U.S. aggressors in their war of aggression and extermination have aroused great and deep indignation and protest among the broad masses of the world's peoples, including the American people. All men of conscience in the world find that they are duty-bound to denounce and protest against the crimes of the U.S. aggressors, to stand firm on Viet Nam's side in the interest of justice and righteousness, and stay the hands of the murderers.

...Members of various investigation teams of the Tribunal and committees of investigation of various countries on fact-finding tours of Viet Nam not only witnessed U.S. crimes but also saw the unshakable determination and the real capacity of the Vietnamese people to fight and defeat the U.S. aggressors.

That is why, before the Tribunal, with vehemence they spoke out the truth and took upon themselves the task of doing everything they could to make the whole world know about U.S. crimes and condemn them. In particular, the members of the Tribunal and delegates from various countries expressed great admiration for the staunch fight of the 14 million South Vietnamese under the able leadership of the N.F.L., their sole genuine representative. The delegation of the N.F.L. played an outstanding part at the recent session of the Tribunal in Denmark. On behalf on the Tribunal, the President of the session expressed to the Vietnamese people the heartfelt feeling of the participants, after hearing the statement by Nguyen Van Tien, head of the N.F.L. delegation. He said: "We ask you to convey our fraternal greetings to the entire people of unified and sovereign Viet Nam who are resolutely resisting the aggressors, to the combat units of the N.F.L. and the heroic South Vietnamese people who are fighting courageously and directly confronting U.S. forces and Saigon troops. You may rest assured that we shall not forget that, at this very moment, villages and hamlets are in flames, children killed, shot dead or burnt, and women separated from their families enduring sufferings in detention camps and jails in South Viet Nam..."

The good success of the recent session was also possible thanks to the goodwill and tremendous efforts of the Presidents and members of the Tribunal, of the members of various investigation teams, of delegates from various countries, who took part in the work of the session and given reports, of all staff members of the Tribunal who worked day and night and rendered selfless service in the spirit of "all for Viet Nam, for Justice."

The Tribunal worked with a deep sense of purpose, great impartiality and arrived at sound conclusions.

(*Continued page 7*)

SECOND SESSION OF INTERNATIONAL WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL

JUDGEMENT *

THE International War Crimes Tribunal met at Roskilde (Denmark) from November 20 to December 1, 1967 to go on inquiring into the questions on the agenda agreed upon at its London constitutive session in November 1966.

Part of the agenda had been discussed in Stockholm from May 2 to 10, 1967 and had led to a first judgement dated May 10, 1967.

It follows from this joint judgement that, according to the Tribunal:

1. The government of the U.S.A. is guilty of aggression against Viet Nam, according to the stipulations of international law.

2. It is guilty of deliberate, systematic and large-scale bombings of civilian targets in Viet Nam.

3. It has repeatedly violated the sovereignty, neutrality and territorial integrity of Cambodia.

4. The governments of Australia, New Zealand and South Korea have been accomplices of the U.S.A. in its aggression on Viet Nam.

At its Roskilde session, the Tribunal had to inquire into the following questions:

1. Complicity of Japan, Thailand and the Philippines in the acts of aggression committed by the U.S.A.

2. Use of arms, engines and products forbidden by war laws.

3. Treatment of prisoners of war.

4. Treatment of the civilian population by U.S. forces and forces depending on them.

5. Extension of the war to Laos.

6. The Tribunal had finally to conclude whether the crimes as a whole—brought against the U.S. government—could bear the general qualification of "genocide."

A few days before the opening of the Roskilde session, the Tribunal reiterated an appeal to the U.S. government to send an authorized representative to answer charges brought against it. This appeal like the previous ones, was not taken into consideration.

The Tribunal had the occasion to hear qualified representatives of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation as well as those of Neo Lao Haksat (Laos) and Cambodia and to examine their grievances.

It heard numerous witnesses coming from various countries and particularly North and South Vietnamese victims of war and American ex-servicemen in Viet Nam.

It heard reports by investigation teams it had sent to Viet Nam (D.R. of Viet Nam and N.F.L.-controlled areas) and to the U.S.A., as well as reports by Japanese and Korean Democratic People's Republic's investigation teams.

It heard and examined numerous reports by scientific and juridical experts and by historians.

An abundant cinematographic and photographic documentation was put forward, as well as specimen of weapons and products accompanied with results of experiments on them.

The Tribunal is able to give the following answers to the questions into which it has inquired:

I — COMPLICITY OF JAPAN, THAILAND AND THE PHILIPPINES

A — By relying on land, sea and air bases in Okinawa, disposing in fact of the Japanese territory as a whole for the movements of troops, taking advantage of Japan's highly developed technique and abundant material for the repair of its war and merchant ships and its planes and for supplies and equipment of all kinds, the U.S. army has made from Japan, with the complicity of the Japanese government, one of the essential elements of its strategic system in its struggle against Viet Nam.

As stated by N. Stennis, Chairman of the Sub-Committee of the Armed Service of the U.S. Senate Military Commission, without Japan's assistance, the operations in South-East Asia would meet with serious difficulties.

B—It follows from reports and documents provided to the Tribunal that the government of Thailand has given the U.S.A. a diplomatic assistance, and the possibility of setting up in its territory bases from which the most U.S. deadly air raids have been launched on Viet Nam. These bases are extremely precious to the U.S.A. for they enable bombings of Viet Nam under conditions much easier and more economical and with less risks for pilots.

The government of Thailand has finally completed its complicity by sending to South Viet Nam an expeditionary corps fighting on the side of U.S. forces.

Its complicity has also been direct with regard to the acts of aggression against Cambodia and Laos which are to be dealt with further on.

C — The government of the Philippines which almost entirely espouses U.S. policy gives the U.S. government all facilities to use the bases on the territory of the Philippines since the accession of the Philippines to a purely nominal independence. The Philippines has been rightly considered to be a typical example of a state under U.S. neo-colonialist rule.

Moreover the government of the Philippines has sent troops to South Viet Nam. Its 2,000-strong expeditionary force is likely to increase.

At its Stockholm session, the Tribunal had already condemned the complicity of Australia, New Zealand and South Korea. So far as the latter is concerned, the Tribunal has obtained evidences that it has been not only an accomplice in the crime of aggression but its army has also committed itself crimes of war. Concerning the last point the Tribunal has not received information about the armed forces of other accomplice countries.

II—ON PROHIBITED WEAPONS AND PRODUCTS

The Tribunal makes a point of recalling the incontestable principles of international law and those laid down by the Hague Conventions of 1907 according to which the legality of a weapon has to be appraised: principle of the immunity of the civilian population, prohibition of the use of toxic chemicals, prohibition of the use of weapons causing unnecessary suffering.

It has attached a particular importance to the "Martens" provision figuring in the preamble of the Hague Conventions according to which the law of war depends on the principles of international law resulting from usages established among civilized nations, the laws of mankind and the demands of human conscience. In application of these principles, the official book of the U.S. army on the law of war entitled *The Law of Land Warfare*, Department of the Army Field Manual, published in July 1956 under reference FM27-10 by the Department of the Army, prohibits field troops to use any kind of violence and to any degree which are not really necessary to military purposes.

The Tribunal had already condemned in Stockholm the use of fragmentation bombs (called CBU bombs in American terminology.) It is obvious that these are to all intents and purposes designed to hit the civilian population since they are ineffective against military installations or protected military personnel. It has been informed that the use of these arms has been stepped up and they have been improve into delayed-action CBU bombs.

View of the Tribunal

The Tribunal makes today a point of condemning:

— The massive and indiscriminate use of napalm which has abundantly been proved before the Tribunal.

— The use of phosphorus which causes prolonged and more painful burns and acts like a poison on the organism.

As to the use of gases, the Tribunal considers that the U.S. non ratification of the June 17, 1925 Geneva Protocol prohibiting the use in war of asphyxiating, poisonous or other gases is ineffectual owing to the vote by the U.N.O. General Assembly of Dec. 5, 1966 — (the U.S. delegate also voted for the Resolution) — inviting every State to conform to the principles and objectives of this Protocol and condemning every act contrary to these objectives.

Scientific reports from the most qualified experts submitted to the Tribunal prove that gases (particularly the C.S., C.N. and D.M.) have been used in Viet Nam under conditions that have made them always toxic and often deadly, above all when doused into hiding places, anti-air raid shelters, and dug-outs where a great part of the Vietnamese population is forced to live. It is impossible to rank them among simple disabling gases, they must be considered as combat gases.

The Tribunal has inquired into the current practice of the U.S.army consisting in spraying whole areas of Viet Nam with defoliants or herbicides. It has remarked that the above-mentioned American manual on the law of land warfare forbid to destroy — particularly through chemical agents, even theoretically not noxious to man — crops which are not exclusively destined to feed armed forces.

It has taken note that the reports by its investigation teams had confirmed information from Vietnamese as well as from American sources — according to which considerable areas of cultivated land had been sprayed with defoliants and herbicides. Over 700,000 hectares were affected in 1966.

III — ON THE TREATMENT OF P.O.W.'S

The Tribunal recalls that the prisoner of war must enjoy a humane treatment as stipulated in the 1949 Geneva Conventions to which the U.S.A. was a signatory and whose terms were incorporated into its own manual of the law of warfare. Tortures, mutilations, serious physical or moral damages must be not only banned but also chastied. The prisoner has the right to safe life and to enjoy suitable medical care.

Numerous evidences — from Vietnamese as well as from American witnesses (there is among American witnesses an ex-serviceman whose office was to question prisoners right after their capture) — establish that these principles have not been put into practice by the Americans in Viet Nam.

Liquidation of the wounded on the battlefield and summary executions have been frequent enough. Prisoners have been thrown down from flying helicopters.

Torture under every form, by electricity, water, burning, blows, hanging has been carried out every day. All the witnesses confirmed that it had always taken place in the presence and under the direction or with the participation of U.S. servicemen.

These tortures have been aimed at extorting information or confessions. The wounded and the sick who have refused to speak have systematically been refused medical care.

In defiance of the provisions of the Geneva Conventions, the prisoners kept by the U.S.A. have been handed over to the authorities of the so-called Saigon government which for its part has waged a cruel repression accompanied with acts of torture, numerous examples of which were provided to the Tribunal, among them those of combatants horridly put to death.

IV — TREATMENT OF THE CIVILIAN POPULATION

The Hague Conventions of 1907, the Nuremberg and Tokyo judgements, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the 4th Geneva Convention of August 12, 1949, laid down the indisputable principle of the protection of civilians in war time.

The manual of the law of warfare of the U.S. army includes in one of its parts the whole of the 4th Geneva Convention whose compulsory character is incontestable.

The Tribunal

— after having heard the evidences by three U.S. ex-servicemen and the account of interrogatories by its investigation team in the U.S.A.,

— after having examined an important documentation from American source put into its dossier,

— after having heard the account of its investigation in N.F.L.-controlled areas which had gathered 317 evidences whose reports have been put into its dossier, and an important witness, a citizen of the German Federal Republic, who had lived several years under conditions enabling him to be well-informed,

considers the following facts as established:

1. During systematic and permanent mopping-up operations, thousands of inhabitants have been massacred. According to serious information from American source, 250,000 children have been killed since the beginning of the war, 750,000 wounded or maimed to life.

(Continued page 7)

RESULTS OF THE TRIBUNAL DELIBERATIONS

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First question:

Is the government of Thailand accomplice in the aggression committed by the U.S. government on Viet Nam?

— YES, unanimously.

Is the government of the Philippines accomplice in the aggression committed by the U.S. government on Viet Nam?

— YES, unanimously.

Is the government of Japan accomplice in the aggression committed by the U.S. government on Viet Nam?

— YES, 11 ayes and 3 noes.

The three Tribunal members casting a negative vote agreed in taking note of the importance of the assistance given by the government of Japan to that of the U.S.A. but did not admit the complicity of Japan's government in the crime of aggression.

Second question:

According to international laws, has the U.S. government committed an aggression on the Lao people?

— YES, unanimously.

Third question:

Have the U.S. armed forces used or experimented weapons prohibited by the law of warfare?

— YES, unanimously.

(Continued page 7)

(*) *Translated from the French* (V.C.).

NORTH VIET NAM AGRICULTURE IN FACE OF U.S. AGGRESSION

THE development of agriculture and socialist industrialisation being the fundamental tasks of economic building, and the economy of the D.R.V.N. having remained essentially agricultural, great efforts have been made to intensify agricultural production. In this field, in face of U.S. bombings, considerable results have been obtained the last three years (1965-1967).

1965 was the best year of the first 5-year plan (1961-1965). Rice yields per hertare increased 2.7 per cent compared with 1960. The global output of agricultural production went up 21.2 per cent compared with that period and 4.2 per cent compared with 1964. Food production, that of rice in particular, reached peak figures for the whole 5-year period.

A drive for "5 tons of rice per hectare per year," for two crops, launched a few years ago, has brought good results. In 1964, only 2 districts and a few hundred co-ops obtained that yield. In 1966, Thai Binh, an important rice-growing province of the Bac Bo delta, and 15 districts achieved that norm. In 1967, in spite of unfavourable weather conditions, the same result was recorded by the same province, the suburban zone of a city and over 40 districts.

That high output is no longer an isolated result, for a single year and but a few districts and co-ops, and springing from some particular objective reasons; it has become a living and stable reality, within reach of all co-ops, in the whole country, one that has been achieved in spite of unfavourable weather conditions and under U.S. bombings.

Gradually a change is made concerning various crops, marking the first step towards the abolition of the traditional monoculture of rice. In 1966, dry crops accounted for 25 per cent of total production (as against 9.5 per cent in 1939 and 14.7 per cent in 1960) and 21.9 per cent of cultivated areas (as against 8 5 per cent for 1939 and 15.5 per cent for 1960) for food crops.

Market-gardening, hitherto practised by individual families on tiny plots, has gradually become a speciality for whole regions: in 1966, areas increased 15.2 per cent compared with 1965. The suburbs of Hanoi, the first supplier of vegetables for the whole country, recorded abundant yields for the first six months of 1967, an increase of 36.7 per cent compared with the same period in 1966.

The progress made by animal husbandry, especially pig raising has resulted in bigger quantities of manure to the co-ops; piggery manure remains the principal fertilizer for the ricefields. The use of green composts favoured by the climate, has spread these last few years: azolla, which grows all the year round in ricefields; crotalaria and sesbania, grown on paddy dykes, along irrigation ditches or in flooded ricefields. Combined with organic and chemical fertilizers, liming has made it possible to fight soil acidity.

The selection and methodical preparation of seeds, the adoption of new, more productive rice strains, and hydrid varieties have greatly contributed to yield increases. The selection of short-term varieties has made it possible to obtain more harvests and freed more land for dry crops.

New, associated agrotechnical measures have been applied on a large scale: crop rotation (2 rice + 1 dry crop, or 1 rice + 2 dry crops, or 3 rice); systematic struggle against insects, pests and plant diseases; the use of improved tools for more efficient work; close replanting of seedlings in straight rows with a sufficient number of tufts, which makes it possible to use improved weeders; maintenance work carried out in good time and following adequate technical norms, etc...

In order to free maximum manpower for other branches of activity (defence, building of industrial bases, etc.) mechanization (and semi-mechanization) of agricultural work has been quickened. In 1965, hardly a thousand co-ops were equipped with small Diesel engines or electric motors of from 10 to 20Kw operating small machines for threshing, husking, winnowing paddy and for the preparation of cattle fodder. This figure rose to 3,500 in 1966 and 5,500 in 1967. The peasants' labour productivity and income, and that of the co-ops, have been increased owing to lower costs and greater economy of manpower, part of which is devoted to other productive works.

The application of new cultural techniques and agricultural technical renovation requiring an ever larger number of technical and scientific cadres, the State has accorded great importance to the formation of cadres and to scientific research. Besides the 2,500 agricultural engineers graduated from the Agricultural College from 1955 to 1965, by 1966, 23,600 cadres had completed secondary studies of agricultural technique, i.e. one-fourth the number of cadres trained in the period from 1959 to 1965. Co-ops have also sent young people to those courses: 17,000 had completed their studies by 1966 and gone back to their co-ops. This figure does not include the 32,000 cadres trained in the years 1950-1965. With the liquidation of illiteracy and the development of adult complementary education, the peasants' cultural level has been raised, and favourable conditions created for the popularization of science and technique. In all co-ops there exist technico-scientific teams (for azolla-growing, agricultural hydraulics, animal breeding, seed selection and preparation, etc.) in which old peasants contribute their experience, and young people their scientific and technical knowledge.

For 3 years, U.S. aircraft have savagely attacked dykes and water conservancy works, but protection and security have been ensured for crops and people. Rice, well irrigated, grows better than ever. In 1964, the irrigated area was 2,368,000 hectares (two crops) as against 922,600 hectares in 1955 and 345,700 hectares in 1939. By late 1966, areas permanently irrigated by large-scale works with thousands of electric or Diesel-powered pumping stations had increased from 53.5 per cent (in 1964) to 73 per cent of the total cultivated area; from 60.5 per cent to 80 per cent for rice; from 28.4 per cent to 30 per cent for industrial crops.

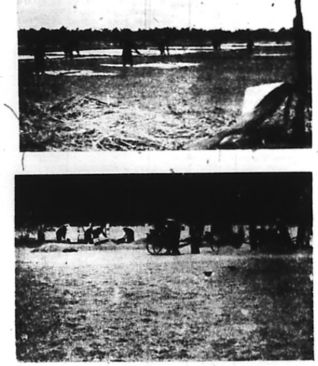
A vast movement has been launched for a systematic re-arrangement of the fields: levelling of the ground, smoothing of soil irregularities, re-parcelling out. Former tiny and multiform plots with meandering dykes have given way to regular-shaped plots with straight dykes, which makes the use of tractors easier, more efficient and more economical. A whole network of canals and ditches have been dug for irrigation and drainage, and also for fish breeding. The flow of water has been regulated. Now, one can keep the water, bring in more of it, or drain it away, according to weather conditions and the requirements of crops. The struggle against drought and water-logging is better ensured. In early 1967 38 per cent of the cultivated areas have been re-arranged. The face of the North Vietnamese countryside has been deeply altered.

Agricultural co-operation, begun in 1958, has been completed in the main. By early 1967, almost all North Vietnamese peasants have joined co-ops. A new social class, that of collective peasantry, has emerged. It constitutes a new social force, the most faithful and staunchest ally of the working class in power. The worker-peasant alliance is consolidated on a new basis, basic guarantee for socialist building and anti-American resistance.

By late 1966, 85.5 per cent of peasant households had joined advanced, socialist-type, co-ops (greater membership and more abundant funds; collective ownership of land and other production means; socialist repartition of income). The development of this movement, which goes together with a campaign for "improvement of co-op management and technical renovation," quickens the building of the material and technical bases of North Vietnamese agriculture; and ensures all-sided, powerful and steady progress.

THUS, in spite of the savagery shown by U.S. aircraft, which have been intensifying their barbarous raids on hydraulic works, men and cattle, North Viet Nam's agriculture, thanks to the just policy of the Viet Nam Workers' Party and the D.R.V.N. government, to the consolidation of socialist relations of production and the patriotism of co-operative peasants resolved to be worth of the people and armed forces of heroic South Viet Nam, has continued its progress, victoriously fulfilling not only the tasks imposed by the war but also those of the country's socialist industrialisation.

—Young people covering ricefields with azolla.
— A drying yard in an agricultural co-operative.



TU CUONG

THE "FOUR-PLENTY" CO-OPERATIVE

THAI BINH, situated in the Red River Delta, was in 1966 the first province in North Viet Nam to obtain 5 tons of paddy per hectare per year on the whole of its acreage. In 1967, its yearly yield increased to 5.479 tons/ha. (The suburban area reached 6 tons, — Dong Quan district, 5.923 tons, Tien Hung district, 5.859 tons). 6 villages and 24 co-operatives reaped 7 tons/ha (against 2 co-ops in 1966) of which two beat the record with 8 tons.

Life in the co-ops have also undergone great changes.

This report by our special correspondent deals with one co-operative—among many other ones in Thai Binh—which has emerged from a state of chronic misery and made fast progress under U.S. bombs.—Ed.

QUICK beats of tom-tom broke the silence of the countryside.

Having sounded the alarm, a young militiawoman, with her rifle slung over her shoulder, hurried down the watchtower set up in front of the co-op office and took position in a trench. Reapers and ploughmen dived for safety into holes dug along ricefield embankments while buffaloes still under yokes knelt down among newly turned furrows.

Planes flown from the 7th Fleet roared in. From the Bui hamlet, bomb explosions were heard, intermingled with the clatter of infantry arms. It was the co-op hydraulic team, made up of militiamen, which were firing on U.S. aircraft.

While platoon leader Nguyen Minh Tuan was giving orders to his men, nurse Nguyen Thi Me was also guiding her young pupils in her kindergarten: children aged from 1 to 3, dropped onto the floor then crawled towards a strong anti-air raid shelter.

After the departure of the *Phantoms*, co-op manager Dao Van Phung led us on through the co-op ricefields which were bordered by the Trieu river and on the far side by a bow of green bamboo hedges surrounding four former small co-ops: Me, Hong, Van and Bui hamlets. Along the banks of the stream, regular rectangles of newly mown high ricefields stretched a carpet of light yellow straw near wide green beds of sweet potatoes. Black low ricefields ready for the Winter-Spring crops were glimmering. Irrigation canals lined with emerald green filao trees — which also served as communication ways — criss-crossed the landscape like a wonderful embroidery pattern.

Dao Van Phung interrupted our contemplation: "These low ricefields have given our co-op an unprecedented average yield of 4.4 tons per hectare in the Autumn crop. They gave but 1.6 tons in the Autumn of 1965."

The 40-year-old peasant, strong and rather short, sat down on the grass of an embankment and slowly told us the story of his co-op.

WHAT IS THE MEANING OF THE «FOUR PLENTY'S»

UP to mid-1965, the four small co-ops constituted by the hamlets of Me, Hong, Van and Bui had had to face big difficulties. Lands being not rationally allotted according to their fertility and their acreage, problems concerning manure water conservancy... had not been solved in a satisfactory way. As the American imperialists had started their "escalation" on North Viet Nam, many cadres and young co-op members had joined the army. Lack of manpower, money and able men had affected the per hectare yield of paddy which had threatened to decrease after having risen from 3 to 3.9 tons. A number of plots had brought in virtually no grain.

The Party had shown the only way out: merging small co-ops into village-size co-ops, defining clearly the orientation of production, resolutely applying agricultural techniques to push up cultivation.

The four co-ops had followed this way. Regarding their ricefields as a "battle-field against the Yankee aggressors," the co-op members had pledged to fight well the battle of production in the rear to contribute their share to the front effort.

Laughing with bonhomie, Dien, a peasant accompanying us, told us the meaning of the new co-op name: "Tu Cuong means, 'Four Plenty's.' The co-op strives for plenty of rice, of meat, of fish and of trees. Such is our program of action."

Such was the hope of the 1,626 inhabitants including 511 "main labourers."

Tu Cuong had cultivated 150 hectares of poor, salt and aluminous land, 40 of these being water-logged ricefields had yearly given but one uncertain crop. Young woman peasant Nguyen Thi Nam told us of the concern of the members of the new co-op: "Many of us doubted the success of such a large-scale organization. But we all knew that there was no other way to face the American aggressors."

She added: "But right from the coming third lunar month, our confidence came back. Thanks to the intensification of subsidiary food crops, we tided over the slack period between crops with an abundant stock of sweet potatoes."

"We are aware of difficulties we are to face when the new large-scale co-op is founded, but there's no other way to defeat the U.S. aggressors."

GIANT STRIDES

FACTS have testified to the soundness of Nam's views. Tu Cuong has focused its efforts on the improvement of the soil. In 1967 hydraulics used 21,294 work-days to move 22,000 cubic metres of earth as against 5,130 work-days and 6,457 cubic metres in 1966. Thanks to drainage and irrigation, much land has been given back to cultivation. Every source of manure has been made use of. The youth have volunteered to grow azolla on the whole acreage under cultivation, even thrice on experimental plots: azolla has replaced nitrogen fertilizers whose supply has not been adequate enough in war time. Sand and lime have widely been used for aluminous fields. To fill low-levelled fields with sandy soil, the co-op members made up their minds to transfer their forefathers' graves to another cemetery and level the old one covered with knolls. They worked overtime covering every hectare with 270 tons of sandy soil. Such a move not only had to defeat the resistance of ancestral traditions but also required an unsual exertion. An old man said to us: "We respect the ashes of our ancestors, but we do not fear to move them away, for we also love the land we have inherited from them and which we are eager to make fertile."

Thanks to such efforts, many one-rice-crop fields have been turned into two-rice-crop fields with an extra crop of sweet potatoes. The co-op members' confidence has been enhanced, especially since the application of such techniques as rice transplanting in close rows, irrigation and manuring during the growing periods of the rice plant...

In answer to the co-op call, the Tu Cuong people have contributed more work-days to cope with the shortage of labour power. Women have replaced the youths serving in the army. Kindergartens and supply and marketing teams have been set up to enable women to devote more time to their co-op.

The entire population focused their attention on the co-op. An old co-op member said to us: "We toil during the whole year on these aluminous lands. But we are aware that our hardships are nothing in comparison with the trials and sacrifices suffered by our children and our brothers on the battlefront and our compatriots of Vinh Tra province in South Viet Nam with whom we have sworn brotherhood."

In the dark and cold twilight of a late autumn day, we met a group of young men and women busy gathering and carrying azolla and water-lilies. One of them said to us: "We like our job for we see the rapid increase in rice yield. The rise in our income has been coupled with our contribution to the national resistance."

The strength of Tu Cuong lies there. It is the love of the country, the will to defeat the aggressors, that spurs the co-op member every day, that binds him to the earth and the community. As a result, labour power and common resources can easily be mobilized for the application of new techniques.

Tu Cuong has made big strides along the "Four Plenty" road. Its yearly yield of paddy rose from 5.7 tons/ha in 1966 to 7.2 tons/ha in 1967, thus exceeding the plan by 1.5 tons per hectare.

On the co-op drying floor dotted with heaps of paddy, an old woman said to us: "Never have our fathers dream of such bumper crops. The Autumn crop is in our hands. The Summer crop is promising. Besides rice, we have also sweet potatoes and other subsidiary food crops."

Tu Cuong boasted other resources. It raised 1,108 pigs, i.e. 4 pigs per hectare, the double of the state plan target. 20 *mau* (1 mau = 3,600 sq. metres) of lakes and ponds, together with its waterlogged ricefields provided 12 tons of fish every year. In 1966 and during the first ten months of 1967, it planted respectively 3,000 and 10,000 fruit-trees or trees for the protection of crops.

FROM BABIES TO OLD FOLKS

UNTIL mid-1965, the Tu Cuong co-op members had been haunted by the spectre of famine which killed hundreds of villagers and whole families in 1945, under the colonialist regime. Such fear belonged now to the past.

Everybody ate his fill. After the Autumn crop, many a family had still rice enough for several months. The monthly ration increased from 11 to 13, then to 22kg of paddy, which resulted in 3 meals instead of 1 or 2 meals a day formerly.

During the first ten months of 1967, the money deposited by the co-op members in the savings-bank doubled in comparison with 1966. Many families of poor peasants had caught up with the living standard of those of former middle peasants: they could afford blankets, mosquito nets, decent clothing. Most of the people had bicycles. Many dreamt of a transistor radio sets. The co-op Managing Committee told us that one hundred transistors could be sold here in half a day.

Cultural activities were also forging ahead. Mobile cinema teams came once or twice a month to show films.

All youth and Managing Committee members attended general education complementary courses of the 1st or 2nd degree. First and second degree general education schools opened their doors to all school-age children. Mothers working for the co-op could trust their children to the care of kindergarten or nursery classes, of which that of Nguyen Thi Me distinguished itself by its exemplary organization.

The co-op has set up a rest home for old folks without families, which cared now for ten persons. Phan Van Tao, 65, who had wandered throughout the country under the colonialist regime to earn a living, said to us: "The young co-op has brought us back to life again. Our life here is secure. So long as the co-op lives, we live."

In the co-op, everyone — from children to old folks — felt secure. A new life was being built on a steady social foundation, an ever growing production and the unshakable will to defeat U.S. aggression.

FROM −9 TO +200

THE patriotism of the Tu Cuong people has been translated for three years into heroic work done in fields often raided by U.S. planes. It can be assessed in terms of their growing contributions to the resistance.

In 1965, they had to buy from the State 9 tons of paddy, which they consider now as a shameful thing. In 1966, and in 1967, they could sell to the State respectively 96 and 200 extra tons of paddy.

Once, the provincial administration wanted to buy from them 5 tons of sticky rice. After discussion, they decided to comply with this request by avoiding to waste sticky rice on futile occasions. One of them declared: "We keep however enough sticky rice to prepare cakes for our brothers and our children fighting U.S. aggression all over the country."

Tu Cuong was conscious of the duties of the rear towards the front. Co-op member Suy stressed: "Our production has increased since the start of our resistance. It bears a new signifiance: We produce more rice in order to fight better against the Yankee aggressors." In the same spirit, the co-op stepped up fish breeding to cater fish for co-op members and save more meat for the State. In 1967, they sold 10 tons of meat to the State, i.e. 2 tons more than scheduled.

Guided by Phung, we visited the "Ten-ton field" co-op which covered 10 hectares and would yield 10 tons/ha in 1969. It brought in 8.3 tons/ha this year. Phung hoped that by mustering all available capacities, it could easily achieve 11 tons/ha; under such conditions, the rest of the acreage would obtain 8 tons/ha.

Every co-op member of Tu Cuong fell in with the views of the Managing Committee. At the beginning of the 1967 Winter-1968 Spring campaign, which was marked by resounding victories on all anti-U.S. aggression fronts, they resolutely went ahead, to attain new records in agricultural production.

Invaluable Support and Encouragement

(Continued from page 1)

Vietnamese people by giving support and assistance to the Tribunal.

The work and results of the International War Crimes Tribunal will surely make a positive contribution to the awakening of the conscience of the American people and other peoples of the world, thereby playing a part in the broadening of the united front of the world's peoples against U.S. imperialist aggression in support of the Vietnamese people's fight until complete victory.

For their part, to well deserve the warn support of the world's peoples, the Vietnamese people are resolved to accomplish their sacred duty which is to drive out the U.S. aggressors in order to defend North Viet Nam, liberate South Viet Nam, achieve the eventual reunification of the Fatherland and contribute to the safeguarding of world peace.

We are firmly confident that the Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression, for national salvation will surely end in victory.

Justice and righteousness will triumph!

Greetings of solidarity."

January 6-13, 1968:

THREE TOWNS, MANY TOWNLETS, AIRFIELDS AND C.P.'s ATTACKED BY THE P. L. A. F.

3 BATTALIONS, 7 COMPANIES AND OVER 1,300 G.I.'s AND PUPPET TROOPS PUT OUT OF ACTION.

IN the week ending Jan. 13, 1968, the enemy carried out only a few operations to protect their bases or clear some communication lines; but he was beaten by the P.L.A.F. on all battlefields.

The P.L.A.F. controlled Hau Nghia town, 60km west of Saigon (Jan. 8), Tan Uyen townlet, 33km north of Saigon (Jan. 5) and wiped out 7 U.S. companies in Can Giuoc district, 15km south of Saigon (Jan. 7); they attacked a battalion of Brigade 2, U.S. Infantry Division 25, defending the section of Highway 1 in Cu Chi district, 35km northwest of Saigon (Jan. 9). The battalion was wiped out with 600 casualties.

Earlier on Jan. 4 and 5, the P.L.A.F. had intercepted Brigade 2, U.S. Para Division 101 (one of the two divisions hurriedly sent to Viet Nam in December 1967) raiding Hoc Mon district 20km northwest of Saigon: 420 G.I.'s were killed or wounded, 3 tanks set afire, 3 choppers downed.

The P.L.A.F. also countered Operation *Touchtone* launched by U.S. Infantry Division 25 and a number of U.S. battalions from December 8, 1967 to Jan. 7, 1968, 110km northwest of Saigon. In over 110 battles fought in one month, the P.L.A.F. killed or wounded 2,500 enemy soldiers including nearly 2,000 G.I.'s, destroyed or damaged 184 military trucks (including 164 tanks and armoured cars), destroyed 28 cannons, downed or set afire 60 aircraft.

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IN the Mekong Delta, on Jan. 8, the P.L.A.F. hammered at an encampment of Battalion 2, Regiment 12, puppet Division 7, in Cai Be district, My Tho province, 90km southwest of Saigon, when the enemy was clearing Highway 4 under constant threat of the P.L.A.F. The battalion C.P. and signal centre were destroyed, 350 enemy troops killed or wounded, a great quantity of arms and ammunition was seized by the P.L.A.F. who controlled completely the battlefield.

Also in My Tho, 2 puppet Ranger companies raiding Cai Lay district on Highway 4 on Jan. 6 were intercepted by the P.L.A.F. who wiped out entirely a company 75km southwest of Saigon: 20 enemies including an American "advisor" were killed and their bodies left on the battlefield.

The following day, 3 enemy posts in the Plain of Reeds, 85km west of Saigon, were overrun, Moc Hoa townlet shelled, the residence of the chief of province, the police station and other administrative buildings were hit.

On Jan. 7, the P.L.A.F attacked an airfield in Vinh Long, and Ba Cang military sub-sector in Tra Vinh, inflicting serious damage on the enemy.

⁂

THE battle was also raging in the coastal areas of North and Central Trung Bo and the Western High Plateaux.

On Jan. 7, the P.L.A.F attacked Phu Loc district capital and 6 military posts 55km northwest of Da Nang: 500 enemy soldiers, including 300 G.I.'s were killed or wounded, 35 military vehicles, 4 105mm cannons, 2 ammunition depots, 3 petrol tanks and 3 electric generators destroyed and 3 bridges blown up. On Jan. 12 a battalion C.P. of U.S. Marines in the same townlet was shelled and suffered heavy losses.

On the night of Jan. 6, the P.L.A.F. stormed the airfield of Kontum town and many barracks: 250 G.I.'s were killed or wounded, 30 choppers destroyed, 104 military vehicles destroyed or damaged and 50 barracks demolished.

The following night, Kron post 12km northwest of Kontum and another post to the west of that town were attacked: the puppet troops, security agents and "civil guards" in the two posts were entirely wiped out. On the afternoon of Jan. 12, the P.L.A.F. stormed an enemy gun emplacement on a hill, 22km southwest of Dac To, causing 22 casualties, as admitted by the enemy.

On Jan. 8, a base of American sappers at Gia Lai town, and another post were attacked: an enemy company was wiped out in the U.S. sappers' base, 130 enemies includding American technicians were killed or wounded, 20 military vehicles, 20 barracks and 4 motorized vehicle repair-workshops destroyed.

On Highway 9, north of Quang Tri, on Jan. 13, the P.L.A.F. intercepted a column of U.S. Marines. The enemy admitted 89 casualties, a figure certainly far below the truth.

JUDGEMENT

(Continued from page 4)

The report by Senator Kennedy on Oct. 31, 1967, said that 150,000 wounded have been registered every month.

Whole villages have been razed, crops destroyed, cattle killed. In particular, American journalist Jonathan Schell described in his report in a striking way the extermination of the population of Ben Suc village and its total destruction by U.S. forces.

Accurate evidences and documents put into debates have revealed the existence of "free-bombing and shelling zones" where "everything that stirs has been considered as an enemy," i.e. the entire population has become a target.

2 — As stated by Senator Kennedy in his message to the "International Rescue Committee," one-third of the population of Viet Nam has been moved and penned up in "strategic hamlets" called now "New Life hamlets." The conditions of life, according to published or unpublished reports submitted to the Tribunal, are reminiscent of those in camps of concentration.

The prisoners — women and children in general — have been herded like cattle behind barbed wire. Food and hygiene have failed almost totally, which has made all survival impossible. Thus the social and traditional structures of the Vietnamese family have been dismantled.

Worthy of note is the impressive number of prisoners kept in South Vietnamese jails, 400,000 according to reliable estimates. Arbitrary arrests, sham justice and interrogatories accompanied with odious tortures are current practice.

All the evidences agree to establish that inhuman and illegal methods have been daily used by U.S. and satellite armed forces against the civilian population thus under threat of extermination.

V — ON THE EXTENSION OF THE WAR TO LAOS AND CAMBODIA

As a consequence of U.S. aggression on Viet Nam, security in two neighbouring countries has been seriously affected.

1 — The Lao people have been plunged into war by the direct extension of U.S. aggression to their territory.

On the one hand, the violation of the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Indo-China as well as that of the 1962 Geneva Agreements on Laos, and the support by the governments of the U.S.A. and Thailand to local pro-American forces, constitute a brutal interference into the internal affairs of Laos and have rekindled war in Laos' territory.

On the other hand, military personnel of the U.S.A. and its satellites, South Viet Nam and Thailand, has been introduced into Laos, turning the part of territory controlled by Vientiane into a military base for U.S. aggression against Viet Nam as well as against the rest of Laos.

U.S. planes taking off from bases in Thailand have stricken hard at the Lao population, sowing death and ruins.

2 — Cambodia, as stressed by the Tribunal in its Stockholm judgement, has been victim of repeated violations of frontiers by armed forces of the Thailand and Saigon governments in the pay of Washington. It has also been victim of repeated bombings and shellings by American forces.

The situation analyzed in Stockholm has only been aggravated as the heaviest threats weigh today on the Kingdom of Cambodia, as pointed out to the Tribunal by its Head of State.

Triumph of Justice and Righteousness

(Continued from page 3)

Another important factor is the warm support of the world's people, especially the Danish people with various progressive political parties and mass organizations in Copenhagen, Roskilde and other cities overcoming innumerable difficulties, smashing all sabotage schemes of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys and creating favourable conditions for the International Tribunal to proceed with its work and achieve successes. The Danish people have organized support-Viet Nam committees across the country, set up the National Committee of Support for the Tribunal, staged demonstrations in support of Viet Nam against U.S. aggression, held rallies, distributed leaflets, put up posters publicizing the Tribunal, raised funds to support the Tribunal and Viet Nam's Resistance. Hundreds of youth, students, intellectuals, public servants, workers and even many old people volunteered to serve the Tribunal and were ready to do whatever job: translating, typing, printing, driving cars, keeping guard and protecting the delegates. Danish friends gave the greatest care to the delegations of the D.R.V.N. and South Viet Nam N.F.L. and showed special sympathy for them. During meetings with Vietnamese delegates, they insisted that Viet Nam suggested what they have still to do in support of Viet Nam against U.S. imperialism. "We will do everything wanted by Viet Nam," they said, adding: "It is our duty to support Viet Nam because Viet Nam is fighting for us, for the freedom of all mankind."

...The good success of the recent session of the International Tribunal is a victory for our people and a common victory for peace- and justice-loving people around the world.

Results of the Tribunal Deliberations

(Continued from page 5)

Fourth question:

Have the POW's captured by the U.S. armed forces been submitted to treatments prohibited by the law of warfare?

— YES, unanimously.

Fifth question:

Have the U.S. armed forces submitted the civilian population to inhuman treatments, prohibited by international law.

— YES, unanimously.

Sixth question:

Is the U.S. government guilty of genocide against the Vietnamese people?

— YES, unanimously.

SOUTH VIETNAM

GUERILLAS OF CON TIEN

THE Western press has given a fairly ample description of Con Tien under the rain of artillery shells or the attacks of the P.L.A.F. who lured the enemy out of their fortifications to annihilate him. But little is known of Con Tien encircled by the death-belt of guerillas and regional troops. Hereunder are some stories on the latter score. — Ed.

★

SNIPING

DURING the first resistance war against French aggression the South Viet Nam guerillas and regional troops struck fright into the adversary by surrounding his posts and sniping at him round-the-clock. In the present resistance war, both these combat methods are being largely used. The only difference lies in the fact that apart from rifles and machine-guns, the Liberation fighters employ a light recoilless gun to snipe at the enemy and harass him.

One night the artillery unit under Nguyen Van Hung set out for an attack, a few days after another P.L.A.F. unit overran three blockhouses. Natives of the area, the combatants perfectly knew every nook and corner of Con Tien. After crossing a road section near an enemy garrison, they made a halt and observed the situation. The adversary fired flares uninterruptedly; at any moment no less than a dozen of them wafted in the air. Their small white parachutes covered the grass and hedges looking like pieces of linen dried in the sun scattered about by a gust of wind.

The whole unit took to crawling. All of a sudden, Thuoc stopped and made a signal by pointing to his nose with his forefinger. All his comrades also stopped and inhaled the air, smelling a smoke of cigarettes, an indication that the enemy was laying in ambush to intercept our snipers. Hung agreed to Thuoc's revelation by nodding his head, and with another sign he ordered his men to follow him. They crawled past a plot covered with thick grass and saw sparkling points some twenty yards away: many G.I.'s sitting in circle close to one another were smoking beside a tank. While our fighters were seeking the best way to deal with them, eight other American soldiers came out of their blockhouse. They walked in combat-readiness no farther than fifteen yards behind the Liberation armymen. The latter looked at one another as to ask "Have we been detected?" They kept their weapons firmly in their hands and waited for the decisive moment. The G.I.'s near the tank went on smoking. The eight G.I.'s moved away and disappeared in the dark.

Without hesitation Hung changed his plan to storm the blockhouse and attacked the tank and the Yanks near it. In next to no time two deafening explosions were heard. The big engine was set ablaze. All the G.I.'s were killed. It was only after Hung's unit had safely withdrawn that the enemy fired at random from the neighbouring blockhouses.

B.52 IN THE SERVICE OF THE P.L.A.F.

EACH time B.52's bombed around Con Tien, U.S. troops here went out of their underground shelters to witness the bombing. They shouted with joy, some almost danced gleefully. Our men who watched the enemy's movement from their observation towers could not bear such a sight. They proposed to deal them a hard blow on these occasions.

It is not an easy job to fire at the adversary at the very moment when B.52's are overhead. After a careful study, a company leader entrusted Le Xuan Huy's platoon with such a job.

On a shiny morning a U. 2 made a white trail like a huge 8 in the sky. In a matter of minutes, three B.52's turned up and released their bomb loads at a point about 1km from our gun emplacements. As usual U.S. troops at Con Tien poured out to see the bombing. Huy reported to the company command: "More than one platoon are out. I suggest that we should be ready to enter into action."

With the permission of the company leader, the Liberation fighters jumped out of their gun emplacements. Amidst the explosions of bombs dropped by the 3 B.52's the artillery pieces of Huy's platoon showered shells in close co-ordination and without interruption. When bombs were released near our positions, raising a screen of smoke and dust our fighters had regained their shelters. Only Huy remained outside for observation.

The engagement resulted in the annihilation of nearly an American platoon.

CUTTING THE AMERICANS' "ARTERY"

THE Americans did their best to keep Road 76 between Con Tien and Dong Ha open to traffic. The three categories of the P.L.A.F. vied with one another in decimating and knocking out their forces and cutting off this communication-line.

One night our engineers posed on this road some unexploded bombs released by B.52's to ambush the enemy coming to repair the road. It rained cats and dogs. Our men had only a nylon sheet just large enough to cover their weapons and munitions. They were wet through and cold. Yet they displayed utmost cautiousness at each of their steps. Arrived at a minefield they detected something unusual: parachute flares hung in the sky and the enemy's artillery regularly pounded the surrounding area.

Under the flares, with their wet clothes, which had turned black, our men would be easily distinguished. They took off their clothes and wrapped them in their nylon sheets. Then availing themselves of two fading flares they rapidly crawled forward. Thiem, who led a three-man group to open the way, saw two big shadows about ten metres in front of him. With Dung and Bong, he hurriedly took shelter under a tank before other flares were fired to replace the extinguished ones. At that time they remembered that in the morning, a tank had its chain broken by a mine and the enemy had dispatched mechanics to repair it. Their work was not finished and the mechanics had to stay. They requested that the surrounding area be shelled to protect them in their sleep. But they could not foresee that instead of protecting them, the flares "revealed" them to the P.L.A.F. Our men laid mines under the two vehicles and thundering explosions destroyed the tanks and killed all the G.I.'s inside.

On another occasion, the guerillas mined Road 76 to kill the enemy patrolling along it. Starting from Con Tien the Americans went in the direction guessed by our men. Hoang Van Hoi who observed them on a tree, saw the enemy caught in the trap. Operating on a favourable terrain the G.I.'s fired at random with their machine guns to sound out the place and mustered for a rest. Unfortunately Hai was hit in his leg. He endured the pain and went on with his observation duty.

Seeing that a fair number of G.I.'s had assembled at the place, Hoi gave the signal. Thu, his comrade, worked on an electric generator and the deafening explosions were heard. Forgetting his wound Hoi climbed down but fell unconscious. His face turned pale but he said smiling: "About thirty of them have been killed."

MAR [illegible] 1968

Big Strike OF SAIGON WORKERS

ACCORDING to reports from Saigon 3,500 workers of the city's power and water plant went on strike in protest against the curtailing of their wages by the puppet administration.

The Thieu-Ky clique are taking fascist measures to repress the workers in struggle. They invoke the law "forbidding strike in emergency situation" fabricated by themselves in an attempt to force the workers back to their job. On the one hand they resort to a "negotiation" and "settlement" farce, on the other their police force has occupied the Cho Quan power plant with the hope of intimidating the strikers. On January 13, "prime minister" Nguyen Van Loc issued a decree requisitioning "all employees belonging to whatever professional branches, holding whatever position in the Saigon electric company." At the same time government-paid agents broke into the gatherings of workers, checked their papers and carried away all those who had worked at the power and water plant. Police chief Nguyen Ngoc Loan and Mayor Van Van Cua also showed up at their meetings and apprehended many workers. On January 13 alone some sources said that nearly 100 workers were rounded up. While carrying on "negotiations" and "settlement" with the employees they took into custody 6 Saigon T.U. leaders and threatened to try them before a military tribunal. Two days later they arrested 3 other representatives of the electric and pedicab branches.

In defiance of the U.S.-Thieu Ky clique's repression the workers continue their struggle. After three days, the strike has seriously affected the Americans and their henchmen. Western sources said that the handful of foreigners who remained at their post were virtually exhausted after 72 hours of relentless work and the sappers sent by Thieu-Ky to the plant have proved powerless in handling the complex and obsolete machines. The power output has been reduced to one half; many of the city's quarters and all of its suburbs are deprived of electricity. Many enterprises inside the city stop working including many daily newspapers. The main electric works of the city is at a complete standstill.

The strike has already had a wide repercussion among the workers and labouring people in Saigon and South Viet Nam. In order to protest against the arrest of the 6 T.U. leaders and support the struggle of the workers of the power and water plant on January 12 5,000 dockers at the mercantile port of Saigon stopped work, thus throttling this city. The following day, 400 taxi-drivers and 3,000 textile and rubber workers at Hoc Mon outskirts of Saigon struck.

The paper *Co Giai Phong* (The Liberation Flag), an instrument of struggle of the Saigon people, warmly hails this strike, saying in a commentary:

"We warmly acclaim the the courageous and resounding strike of the Saigon power and water workers. It has dealt a heavy blow to the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys now courting defeat and in a great quandary. It has contributed to creating favourable conditions for our armed forces and people in the flush of their successes to score still greater ones in this winter-spring campaign."

On January 15 the Saigon-Gia Dinh Liberation Trade Union Executive Committee called on the workers in the area to give strong support to, and co-ordinate their action with their fellow-workers of the Saigon power and water plant.

Up to Jan. 15, 1968 some 14,000 in various branches stopped work in support of the power and water workers.

CRIMES AGAINST A PEOPLE...

(Continued from page 1)

the criminal driven to the wall, and all men, whatever their opinion and their nationality put before their responsibility.

Once again, at Roskilde (Denmark), the International War Crimes Tribunal (the Russell Tribunal) has done its duty. Its members have acted as men of conscience and science: they have shrunk from no difficulty in order to overcome obstacles, collect evidence, build dossiers, hear witnesses. American citizens, prompted by their desire to safeguard America's true face, have not hesitated to come and indict their rulers. The dossier is a voluminous one, supported by damning evidence. While the judges have not denied their anger before the crimes, their objectivity cannot be doubted. They are lawyers, doctors, journalists, professors, philosophers, writers, who would never lay down a judgment without solid evidence to back it. Whoever has studied the dossier could never challenge the verdict of the Tribunal. To the question whether "the crimes for which the U.S. government is held responsible can be considered genocide," it has given an affirmative answer. It has even affirmed, by the voice of its president J.P. Sartre, that "the present genocide, in answer to the people's war, has been conceived and perpetrated in Viet Nam not only against the Vietnamese, but against mankind," and that "the Vietnamese have been fighting for all, and the American forces against all."

The voices of truth and justice are in unison.

Thanks to the Tribunal, thanks to all men of good will who, the world over, are untiringly denouncing U.S. crimes, and bringing to the Vietnamese people a most precious support in their struggle for independence and freedom.

V.C.

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